

## Message Text

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R 270711Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6013  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
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AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
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AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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USMISSION USNATO  
CINCEUR  
USMISSION USUN  
AMCONSUL ZAGREB  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 2455

NSC FOR HUNTER

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: US, YO  
SUBJECT: TITO VISIT TO WASHINGTON - VIEW FROM BELGRADE

1. SUMMARY: FIRST WAVE OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC REACTION INDICATES  
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YUGOSLAVS VIEW TITO'S WASHINGTON VISIT IN UNIFORMLY FAVORABLE  
LIGHT. EXTENSIVE AND POSITIVE MEDIA COVERAGE EXCEEDED  
OUR EXPECTATIONS. SOME NORMALLY CYNICAL YUGOSLAVS HAVE  
POINTED TO EXTENT OF COVERAGE AS ABSOLUTE OFFICIAL  
ENDORSEMENT OF CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED STATE OF OUR  
BILATERAL RELATIONS. YUGOSLAVS ARE ESPECIALLY PLEASED  
WITH THREE MAJOR ASPECTS OF USG TREATMENT OF VISIT--

PERSONAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO TITO BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND OTHERS, OFFICIAL HANDLING BY US INTERLOCUTORS OF ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO GOY (PARTICULARLY NON-ALIGNMENT), AND SYMBOLIC RECOGNITION OF YUGOSLAVIA AS AN EQUAL. ON HIS RETURN TO BELGRADE TITO'S OFFICIAL REMARKS ON VISIT WERE BY HIS STANDARDS SURPRISINGLY WARM. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION AFTER RETURN WELCOMING CEREMONY, TITO REPORTEDLY CHARACTERIZED PRESIDENT CARTER AS "FANTASTIC". ACCUSTOMED TO STIFF OFFICIALDOM READING PREPARED STATEMENTS, YUGOSLAVS WATCHING WASHINGTON PROCEEDINGS ON TV WERE IMPRESSED BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S INFORMALITY, HIS "NATURALNESS" AND HIS "SENSE OF HUMANITY".

2. SOME YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE WARMTH FELT BY YUGOSLAV VISITORS IN WASHINGTON WILL SPREAD TO DOMESTIC SCENE AND LEAD TO INTERNAL RELAXATION. WHILE THIS IS UNLIKELY, GOY MIGHT BE MORE COAREFUL ABOUT TAKING MEASURES (I.E. TIGHTENING UP INTERNALLY) WHICH WOULD UPSET US. HOWEVER, IT IS STILL TO EARLY TO JUDGE IMPACT OF VISIT ON DOMESTIC SCENE. CLEARLY FROM US STANDPOINT, VISIT WENT EXTREMELY WELL. IN ADDITION TO CONTINUED GOOD RELATIONS WITH GOY, WE CAN EXPECT YUGOSLAV APPRAISALS TO BE PASSED BY TITO AND OTHER GOY OFFICIALS TO OTHER NATIONS, WHICH SHOULD ACCRUE TO US BENEFIT. SOME YUGOSLAVS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY ARE LOOKING FOR VISIT TO PROVIDE IMPETUS TO FURTHER COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC AREA. FROM OUR VIEW, WE ARE EXTREMELY PLEASED  
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AT OUTCOME AND EXTEND APPRECIATION TO ALL INVOLVED. NEVERTHELESS, BELIEVE WE MUST ADVISE CAUTION IN AT LEAST TWO RESPECTS: (1) HISTORY OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA HAS PROVED THAT AT NO TIME, EVEN DURING THE LOFTIEST FLIGHTS, CAN THESE RELATIONS BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED; AND (2) WE MUST GUARD AGAINST BOTH GOY OEVERXPECTION OF WHAT WE CAN DO FOR THEM, ESPECIALLY ECONOMICALLY, AND GOY PERCEPTION OF US FLEXIBILITY AS UNLIMITED ON ISSUES ON WHICH WE HAVE APPROACHED THEIR VIEWS BUT STILL DO NOT FULLY CONCUR. END SUMMARY.

3. THROUGH VAST OUTPOURING OF REPORTAGE ON VISIT, YUGOSLAV MEDIA HAS LET PUBLIC KNOW THAT TITO'S WASHINGTON VISIT HAS BEEN NOT ONLY IMPORTANT BUT SUCCESSFUL AS WELL. ASKED DURING THIRD DAY OF VISIT WHAT WAS YUGOSLAV REACTION TO DATE, FSFA OFFICIAL POINTED TO ISSUE OF "BORBA" WHICH CONTAINED THREE FULL PAGES (INCLUDING PAGE ONE) OF COVERAGE, AND STATED, "THAT'S OUR REACTION". COVERAG HAS BEEN EXTREMELY BROAD AND INTER ALIA INCLUDED PRIME TIME, HOUR-LONG, CURTAIN-RAISING TELECAST OF BALANCED DOCUMENTARY CALLED "AMERICA TODAY" WITH INTERVIEWS OF BRZEZINSKI, ROCKEFELLER, AND HARRIMAN, SEVERAL PAPERS CARRYING ALMOST

COMPLETE TEXTS OF RESTON INTERVIEW OF TITO, TELECAST AND PAPERS REPRINTING OF COMPLETE CRONKITE INTERVIEW WITH TITO, AND FULL COVERAGE OF TOASTS, OTHER EXCHANGES AND COMMUNIQUE.

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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4. REPRESENTING EDITORIAL REACTION WAS "POLITIKA"

COMMENTARY OF MARCH 10 WHICH STATED VISIT AND MEETINGS BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS MAKE UP A "RARE INTERNATIONAL" EVENT "BY THE CHARACTER, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL TIMING, AND THE PROCEEDINGS AND OUTCOME". THIS IS TRUE, ACCORDING TO "POLITIKA", BECAUSE OF "EXEMPLARY STABILITY WHICH HAS, ESPECIALLY LATELY, BEEN CHARACTERIZING US-  
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YUGOSLAV RELATIONS". BOTH SIDES TOOK PART WITH "LARGE MEASURE OF POLITICAL REALISM AND NOT A SMALLER MEASURE OF GOOD WILL".

5. ALL YUGOSLAVS (INCLUDING TITO) ARE DELIGHTED WITH THE MANNER HE WAS TREATED BY HIS WASHINGTON HOSTS. PRESIDENT CARTER'S REFERENCE TO HIM AS A "GREAT WORLD LEADER" AND "VALUABLE PARTNER" DID NOT ESCAPE NOTICE NOR DID THE UNIQUE VIEW OF AMERICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS CALLING ON A WASHINGTON VISITOR INSTEAD OF THE REVERSE. IN HIS OFFICIAL REMARKS ON RETURN TO BELGRADE, TITO STATED: "AT ALLTIMES WE WERE SURROUNDED BY EXCEPTIONAL COURTESY. PRESIDENT-CARTER AND HIS ASSOCIATES, CONTRIBUTING PERSONALLY AND AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO OUR ENJOYMENT OF A WARM, INTIMATE ATMOSPHERE, REALLY DID EVERYTHING TO MAKE OUR STAY IN WASHINGTON NOT ONLY VERY USEFUL BUT VERY PLEASANT AS WELL".

6. A YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST WHO FOUND HIMSELF AMONG A SMALL GROUP OF HIGH LEVEL LEADERS WHICH ENCIRCLED TITO AS SOON AS THE RETURN CEREMONY WAS OVER, STATES THAT TITO, WHEN ASKED HOW THE VISIT WENT, RESPONDED, "CARTER WAS FANTASIC". WE HAVE SINCE HEARD SAME WORD (AS WELL AS OTHER WARM SENTIMENTS) USED BY OTHER GOY OFFICIALS AND MUST ASSUME THAT THIS IMPRESSION IS AMONG HOST OF OTHERS FILTERING DOWN THROUGH YUGOSLAV SYSTEM.

7. YUGOSLAVS WERE PLEASANTLY SURPRISED AT THE IMAGES THEY RECEIVED THROUGH TV COVERAGE. GENERALLY ACCUSTOMED TO STIFFLY-READ AND LENGTHY PREPARED STATEMENTS ON MATTERS OF POLICY, YUGOSLAVS ASSESSING PRESIDENT CARTER THROUGH OBSERVATION OF HIS WELCOMING REMARKS AND HIS TOAST (AND ESPECIALLY IN COMPARISON WITH TITO'S REMARKS ON BOTH OCCASIONS) HAVE CALLED HIM "INFORMAL", "NATURAL", AND

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"HUMAN", SENTIMENTS THEY CLEARLY APPRECIATE. THEY ALSO NOTICED SMALL, PERSONAL TOUCHES (THE SNOWBALL, FOR EXAMPLE) WHICH THEY FOUND "ENGAGING".

8. WHILE SIGNIFICANT, RELEVANCE OF PERSONAL CONTACTS DEVELOPED DURING VISIT DID NOT OVERSHADOW SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, PARTICULARLY NON-ALIGNMENT. IT IS EVIDENT FROM PRESS AND OUR DISCUSSIONS THAT GOY ATTACHES MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO WASHINGTON'S UNEQUIVOCAL ENDORSEMENT OF NA MOVEMENT AS IMPORTANT POLITICAL FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND

YUGOSLAVIA'S LEADING ROLE WITHIN NAM. YUGOSLAVS LONG HAVE SOUGHT THIS KIND OF ENDORSEMENT FROM US AND APPEAR TO FEEL THAT US HAS EXTENDED IT TO THEM.

9. RELATED TO THIS IS YUGOSLAV RECOGNITION THAT USG HAS TAKEN MORE "FORTHCOMING" POSITION ON WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE WITHIN NAM CONTEXT--SOUTHERN AFRICA, ME, HORN, NORTH-SOUTH. PERHAPS MORE FUNDAMENTAL, HOWEVER, IS GOY'S STATED AWARENESS THAT ISSUES ON WHICH WE DIFFER CAN BE DISCUSSED WITHOUT MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS AND WITH RESPECT FOR THE OTHER'S POSITIONS.

10. OF INTEREST IS ALMOST COMPLETE ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE TO FORMER LOW POINTS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. PRESS (AND EVEN SOME OFFICIALS IN RECENT DAYS) HAVE TENDED TO DESCRIBE US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS ON A STEADY AND POSITIVE INCLINE, HIGHLIGHTED AT THE MOMENT BY THE TITO VISIT, BUT ALMOST CERTAIN TO CONTINUE IMPROVING. A FORMER YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR, HOWEVER, REFERRED TO THE VISIT AS EPITOMIZING A "HISTORIC US-YUGOSLAV RAPPROCHEMENT," WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN INEVITABLE.

1. ALSO ALMOST COMPLETELY MISSING FROM PRESS WAS MENTION OF ANTI-TITO DEMONSTRATIONS AND ANTI-GOY EMIGRE ACTIVITY. ONLY REFERENCE WE SAW OF FIRE SET OUTSIDE YUGOSLAV CONSULATE IN SAN FRANCISCO ON WEEKEND BEFORE VISIT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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"TANJUG" PIECE WRITTEN IN CONTEXT OF DEPSEC CHRISTOPHER'S PERSONAL APOLOGY TO AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI.

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12. IN CONTRAST, ANTI-TITO DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE CLARIDGE'S, WHERE TITO STAYED DURING LONDON STOPOVER, ANGERED YUGOSLAVS AND PRIMIN CALLAGHAN WAS IMPELLED PERSONALLY TO GO TO HOTEL AND ESCORT TITO. LOCAL BRITS WERE AMUSED TO SEE YUGOSLAV PRESS CALLING CALLAGHAN'S (LAST MINUTE) ACTION A SIGN OF GREAT RESPECT FOR TITO. BRITS, INCIDENTALLY, RECOGNIZE THAT LONDON STOPOVER WAS ONLY CONFIDENTIAL

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A SIDESHOW AND EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT A COMMUNIQUE, ALBEIT MEAGER, EMANATED FROM IT.

13. MANY YUGOSLAVS STATED THEY PERCEIVED A QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP, FROM WHICH THEY APPEAR TO HAVE TAKEN QUIET ENCOURAGEMENT. A PROMINENT POET, IN AND OUT OF TROUBLE IN RECENT YEARS, AND WITHOUT SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO VISIT, SAID THAT GENERAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CLIMATE IN YUGOSLAVIA WAS NOTICEABLY MORE RELAXED THAN SEVERAL YEARS AGO. ON VISIT, POET SAID HE WAS STRUCK BY WARMTH OF TITO'S REACTION TO HIS HOST'S HOSPITALITY. MILOVAN DJILAS AND HIS WIFE FEEL VISIT WILL HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL POSITIVE EFFECT ON THEIR LIVES AND ON LIVES OF OTHERS WHO ARE NOT WHOLE-HEARTED REGIME ADHERENTS. DJILAS SAID HE SENSES THAT YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP HAS MADE A BASIC DECISION TO "LOOK TO THE WEST", WHICH AUGERS FOR RELAXATION INTERNALLY. HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTRIGUED BY REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIQUE.

14. IT IS TOO EARLY TO JUDGE WHETHER VISIT WILL AFFECT YUGOSLAV DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE, BUT BELIEVE ASSESSMENTS SUCH AS DJILAS' TO BE OVER-ESTIMATION OF AT LEAST THE SHORT TERM POSSIBILITIES. IT WOULD BE INCORRECT TO EXPECT GOY TO LOOSEN ITS INTERNAL GRIP NOW. CONVERSELY, YUGOSLAVS MAY STEP MORE WARILY BEFORE DECIDING TO IMPOSE HARSHER MEASURES WITH WHICH THEY KNOW USG WOULD NOT AGREE. FROM US POINT OF VIEW, HOWEVER, VISIT WENT EXTREMELY WELL. NOT ONLY CAN WE EXPECT CONTINUED GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS, BUT ALSO WE CAN ANTICIPATE THAT YUGOSLAVS IN BRIEFING OTHERS WILL FRAME USG IN MORE BALANCED AND POSITIVE FASHION THAN PREVIOUSLY, WHICH COULD TURN OUT MARGINALLY USEFUL ON SEVERAL ISSUE. PARTICULARLY IN MULTILATERAL FIELD. VISIT INCREASES POTENTIAL TO EXPAND CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSULTATIVE PROCESS WITH GOY. YUGOSLAVS DESIRE THIS, BOTH BECAUSE OF ENHANCED ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE IN OUR RELATIONS AND BECAUSE PROCESS ITSELF DEMONSTRATES YUGOSLAV "EQUALITY"-- A POINT WHICH PRESS ACCOUNTS OF VISIT HAVE UNDERSCORED. GOY CONTACTS HAVE INDICATED THEY HOPE VISIT WILL PRODUCE INCREASED COOPERATION OVER SPECTRUM OF FIELDS, WITH EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC, AREA OF GREAT CONCERN TO GOY PRESENTLY.

15. LATTER POINT COMPELS US TO CUT THROUGH THE EUPHORIA AND LIST SOME CAUTIONARIES:

(A) WE MUST AVOID ASSUMING THAT THE SPRIT OF THE VISIT CAN BE LEFT UNATTENDED TO SUSTAIN OUR SUBSEQUENT RELATIONSHIP. A REVIEW OF EVEN THE HIGHEST PEAKS OF OUR EXTREMELY FLUCTUATING RELATIONS DEMONSTRATES THAT TAKING FOR GRANTED THE YUGOSLAVS AND THE STATE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM CAN LEAD TO CONSIDERABLE PITFALLS.

(B) WE MUST TRY TO CONTAIN WITHIN REALITY YUGOSLAV EXPECTATIONS ON EXTENT TO WHICH US IS ABLE AND PREPARED TO ASSIST THEM ECONOMICALLY. ADDITIONALLY, WE MUST NOT ALLOW THEIR PERCEPTION OF US FLEXIBILITY ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES TO OVERREACH ACTUAL LIMITS OF OUR POSITIONS. A COROLLARY TO THIS IS THAT WE MUST NOT EXPECT GOY TO CHANGE ITS POSITIONS EHEN THEIR INTERESTS ARGUE TO THE CONTRARY. EAGLEBURGER

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## Message Attributes

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